

Taylor, Z.
Campaign 1842

DRAWER 9 CONGRESSMAN

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Abraham Lincoln's Political Career through 1860

Zachary Taylor Campaign 1848

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

Washington 9 April 1849

Genl Z Taylor

Dear Sir

I have the ^{satisfaction} ~~honor~~ to present you with the accompanying walking-stick, which I have caused to be manufactured out of one of the black-walnut pickets of old "Fort Harrison."

As it constitutes a part of your wall of protection in your memorable defence of the valley of the Wabash, it may serve to remind you that this scene of your early renown is situated in the midst of those who have remembered your services and appreciated your character. ~~Their country is which it stands~~ is now the banner Whig County of ~~any~~ ^{the} state, — made so by the influence of your name, — and permit me, in ^{their} behalf of ~~its~~ ^{their} citizens, to express the hope that you may yet find it convenient to revisit our beautiful prairie — made almost classic ground by having the names of Harrison and Taylor intimately blended with its history.

I have the honor

RWT.

Washington D.C.

May 10, 1849.

Dear Sir,

You will please accept my warm
thanks for the beautiful present of a
cracking stick "manufactured out of one of
the black walnut pickets of old Fort Mifflin."

Associated as this gift must always
be with my own early career and with the
history of the State of Indiana, then a wilder-
ness dense & fertile with the elements of
greatness & of strength, it will possess peculiar
value - the more as it comes from the honored
representative of those who I am proud
to number as my friends. I trust that it
may yet be my privilege to visit them & trace
the associations of my early career on the Wabash.

With the assurances of my regard.

I remain yr. sincere friend,

Amos W. Thompson,

Terre Haute,

Ind.

J. Taylor

Visit Here By Lincoln Is Recalled

Addressd Rally
For Zach Taylor
At 4th And Market

The approach of Abraham Lincoln's birthday Feb. 12, recalls to local historians the few recorded details of his only visit to Delaware.

The occasion of Lincoln's visit to the First State was a Zachary Taylor-for-President rally held in Wilmington on the night of June 10, 1848.

He had come directly from the Whig National Convention which had been held in Philadelphia three days earlier. Lincoln was the Illinois delegate. At the age of 40, he was nearing the close of his first and only term in Congress.

According to the record "the Hon. A. Lincoln (of Illinois)" spoke to a sizable crowd from the balcony of the Athenaeum, a literary society with quarters in the Upper Market House at Fourth and Market Sts. The total

population of Wilmington at the time was about 12,000.

Gaunt and homespun, and wearing a tall stovepipe hat, he is described, in 1848 as "six feet high, lean of build, wide gray-blue eyes, thin shrewd nose, bushy eyebrows," and as "proud, positive and independent."

Later evidence seems to show that actually he was a man of unresolved mental conflict during this period and a man who had acquired some strange political bed-fellows.

As a Whig he supported Taylor, a slave owner, for the Presidency, though Taylor's nomination in Philadelphia had been opposed by the antislavery delegations from New England and Ohio.

Questions War

Lincoln attacked the motives behind the Mexican War, but voted for war supplies. This seemed unpatriotic to his constituents and he lost popularity at home. It was not long before he retired from politics in disgust and he remained outside of that field until 1854.

On the same Saturday evening Lincoln spoke in Wilmington, a Gen. Lewis Cass-for-President rally was being held in the City Hall. It seems likely that Lincoln cannily seized the opportunity to flay Cass in his best side-splitting style, as he did in Congress the following month.

Wilmington Delaware Sunday, June 10, 1848
2-7-54



ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S 1848 SPEECH AT RICHMOND HALL, still standing on Washington Street, Dorchester Lower Mills, apparently aroused little excitement locally. Lincoln, then a Congressman from Illinois spoke in favor of Zachary Taylor, Whig candidate for President. The structure was a church edifice from 1813 to 1840, then was converted into a meeting hall upstairs and stores downstairs. Later it was remodelled into an apartment house. The hall is near the location formerly occupied by the Safford House at which Lincoln spent the night. Near the Milton line it apparently is the nearest Lincoln ever came to the South Shore.

Lincoln Opposed Adams' Candidate At Dorchester

Editor's Note: Lincoln's Birthday is an appropriate time to tell of the only time the Great Emancipator was close to the South Shore area, a political stumping tour for Zachary Taylor in 1848, which brought him to Dorchester Lower Mills.

Quincy Patriot, Feb. 2, 1859

BY RICHARD L. ENGLAND

Quincy Patriot Staff Reporter

Twelve years before he became President, Abraham Lincoln visited Boston on a stumping tour for Presidential Candidate Zachary Taylor, but the closest he came to the South Shore was Dorchester Lower Mills.

Lincoln's name was a rising star in the Whig party in September, 1848. He was noted for his oratorical persuasiveness and humor, and it was these qualities that were called upon to heal the widening split in the Whig party.

On Opposite Tickets

Charles Francis Adams of Quincy had already helped to form the Free Soil party and many of New England's leaders were flocking to its anti-slavery banner. There were Whittier, Longfellow, Lowell, the men of letters; Charles Sumner, Richard Henry Dana and John A. Andrew, later governor of the state, all dissenting Whig politicians.

Adams, son of the sixth President of the United States, John Quincy Adams, had been chairman of the Free Soiler's national convention held at Buffalo early in August, 1848. At this convention he was nominated vice president on the party ticket to run with former President Martin Van

Buren. Opposition to Taylor was strong in New England, however, and Whigs here felt no such enthusiasm as did Lincoln.

The Quincy Patriot, for example, during August and September of that year printed communications from one signed "Neposet," a declared Whig, who condemned Taylor for having no principles, no platform and no knowledge outside of his professional Army training.

Another letter from another declared Whig called Taylor a "military butcher."

It was these arguments which Lincoln set out to answer when he was invited to speak to the Massachusetts Whig state convention held at Worcester Sept.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN SLEPT HERE during the night of Sept. 18, 1848, after a speech at Richmond Hall, Dorchester Lower Mills, where he urged the election of Zachary Taylor as President. Lincoln slept in the nearest corner room on the second floor as a guest of Lawyer Nathaniel F. Safford, a prominent Whig politician. Known as the Safford House or Old Morton Estate, it stood at 1085 Washington Street, Dorchester, until five years ago when it was gutted by fire while undergoing alterations for an apartment house. The Georgian-Colonial house had continued in the Safford family until 1920 when title passed to Charles and Mary Robinson, now of Florida. In 1941 St. Gregory's Church took over the mansion as a kindergarten and to house business school classes, before selling it to a contractor. Formerly at the corner of Morton and Washington Streets it has

New Bedford, Washington Hall in Boston, Lowell, Dorchester Lower Mills, Chelsea, Dedham, Cambridge, Taunton and lastly Tremont Temple in Boston.

Only the Worcester speech was reported by reporters from the Boston Daily Advertiser and the Boston Atlas. However, according to biographer Albert J. Beveridge's "Abraham Lincoln" the famous railsplitter made the same speech everywhere else and with uniform success.

At Dorchester Lower Mills, the nearest he came to the South Shore, Lincoln arrived very late after dark apparently either by Dunsmore's Coach via the Turnpike, now Washington Street, or by the carriage of his host, Lawyer Nathaniel F. Safford. Safford was a Norfolk County commissioner for 21 years and from 1849 to 1850 was a state representative.

The enthusiasm of a fife and drum band apparently began to flag a little before Lincoln arrived at what now is the corner of Washington and Morton Streets at the Lower Mills.

He was escorted ceremoniously with a torchlight parade, however, to Richmond Hall, which is still standing on Washington Street today.

Lawyer Safford introduced him, and knowing nothing about Lincoln's ancestry, spoke of his possible relationship to the Massachusetts Lincolns who were early settlers in Hingham.

Safford, himself a descendant of the Lincolns in Hingham, identified the president-to-be as a descendant of Gen. Benjamin Lincoln of Revolutionary War fame, according to Stacy B. Southworth of Braintree.

Disclaimed Kinship

Lincoln disclaimed any relationship to the Lincoln family in Hingham however, but playfully noted that he endeavored to practice in Illinois the principles of the Lincoln family in Massachusetts, Mr. Southworth says.

His father, Thomas Lincoln, had always denied being either of Puritan or Quaker origin and Abraham grew up thinking he came from a vague background.

It was not until 18 years after he was assassinated that Lincoln's genealogy was established by Solomon Lincoln of Hingham and Samuel Shackford of Illinois, said Mr. Southworth.

The crowd at Richmond Hall was quite small, apparently.

No record was kept and no story has been handed down as legend, as to what his topic was. The only evidence is Beveridge's statement that all his speeches were on the same themes as the Worcester speech.

Lincoln was not well known in this area at the time, despite his successes elsewhere, it appears. When asked to entertain the Illinoisan, Lawyer Safford is said to have replied: "Who is this Lincoln?"

The notice of the meeting which was printed in the Boston Daily Advertiser Sept. 16, 1848

was given little prominence, and Lincoln's first name was misspelled. It read:

"WHIG MEETING AT DORCHESTER: We are glad to learn that the Hon. Abram Lincoln of Illinois and the Hon. George Lunt of Boston, will address the citizens of Dorchester on Monday evening next, Sept. 18th at Richmond Hall in that Town."

It has been said that the reception accorded him was a cool one, as far as his audience was concerned. But Lincoln, fired with enthusiasm in an effort to put his topic across, is said to have pulled off his coat and finished the discourse in his shirt-sleeves.

Following his speech, Lincoln stayed overnight at Safford's Georgian Colonial mansion which was no farther than a stone's throw from Richmond Hall.

House Torn Down

Known as the Old Safford House or Old Morton Estate, the mansion was located at 1085 Washington Street until about five years ago when it was gutted by fire and had to be torn down.

Lincoln slept in the south east upstairs chamber.

Miss Annie Reis of Dorchester, librarian of the Lower Mills branch of the Boston Public Library saw the room occupied by Lincoln when she was acquainted with Mrs. Mary F. Robinson now of Florida, who occupied the house with her husband for 20 years and compiled a history of it.

After spending the night at the Safford place, Lincoln left on Sept. 19 to deliver his other speeches, finally winding up in Tremont Temple, Sept. 22, on the same program with William H. Seward later Lincoln's secretary of state whose approach to the slavery question impressed Lincoln deeply.

Summing up his venture into New England Miss Tarbell says:

"Lincoln won something in New England of vastly deeper importance than a reputation for making popular campaign speeches. He for the first time caught a glimpse of the utter impossibility of ever reconciling the northern conviction that slavery was evil and unendurable, and the southern claim that it was divine and necessary; and he began here to realize that something must be done."

"... when in 1848 Lincoln went to New England he experienced for the first time the full meaning of the 'free soil sentiment' as the abolition sentiment was called," Miss Tarbell says.

In a sense Lincoln's campaign efforts had a happy ending. Taylor won the election with 1,360,000 votes to 1,220,500 for Cass and only 291,263 votes for Van Buren.

But after 16 months in the White House Zachary Taylor died and Millard Fillmore replaced him at the country's helm.

Twelve years after his New England campaign tour Lincoln himself was President of the

LINCOLN IN NEW ENGLAND

The Great Emancipator Found Support in 1860

By EDWARDS PARK

New England has seen its full share of political rallies, but few of them have been as entertaining as the Whig meeting in Dedham in September, 1848.

The chief speaker, a ludicrously tall Congressman from a Midwestern state, rolled up his sleeves, tore off his necktie, and then kept the crowd in stitches.

His name was Abraham Lincoln.

The 39-year-old politician, an ardent backer of Gen Zachary Taylor on the Whig ticket, had to cut his Dedham speech short because of a previous engagement. The crowd begged him to keep going, but he only grinned at them and stuck to his guns.

According to the Boston Journal, a "round of hearty cheers was given the eloquent speaker and a procession formed to escort him to the cars."

Invitation From Whigs

Lincoln had come to New England on the invitation of the local Whigs. He had made a name for himself in the 30th Congress by his hilarious verbal attacks on Gen Lewis Cass, the Democratic nominee for President. Word had gotten around that this Lincoln was a sure-fire draw for any political rally.

The Midwesterner had his eyes opened by the sight of New England's booming industries, its hordes of factory workers, its sense of permanency and history. In Worcester he was introduced by Ex-Gov. Levi Lincoln, and the two of them traced their ancestry back to old Samuel Lincoln of Hingham, who settled in 1637.

Abe made other speeches in Cambridge, Lowell, Roxbury and Chelsea. On Friday, Sept. 22, 1848, he took part in the big Whig rally at Tremont Temple. Ex-Gov. Seward of New York was the main attraction, but Lincoln's reputation in New England Whig circles was sound enough by then so that he needed little introduction to the crowd.

Lincoln Ignored

The Journal reported the rally next day. Seward rated over two columns. Lincoln got about 1½ inches of space at the end.

"After he had concluded the president introduced the Hon. Abram Lincoln, who spoke about an hour in his usual off-hand, eloquent and convincing manner, and

which was most heartily responded to by the audience."

Another paper, the Transcript, didn't report the speech at all. Most of its space, that Saturday, was devoted to the Horticultural Show.

That was Abe Lincoln's first encounter with the Yankees. Twelve years later he came to New England again, this time on an unofficial stumping tour to boost his own rather meager hopes of having a crack at the Presidency. The more definite reason for his second trip was to visit his eldest son, Robert T. Lincoln, who was a student at Phillips Exeter Academy.

Robert had tried to get into Harvard in the Fall of 1859, but had flunked his entrance exams. The professors recommended that he put in a year at Exeter and try it again.

New Hampshire Visit

His father had wanted to pay him a visit, but was loaded down with expenses at that time and couldn't see how he was to afford the trip East. Then he got an offer of \$200 to make a speech in New York. His reputation as an orator and coming statesman was widespread, following the famous debates with Douglas in 1858.

Lincoln accepted the offer, packed his queer old cylindrical suitcase, grabbed his umbrella and boarded a train for the East. That New York speech was the famous Cooper Union address. It is still remembered. But what Abe Lincoln did afterwards is often forgotten.

He went right up to New Hampshire, made about four speeches, saw Robert and came out of the Granite State with his mind a little bewildered by the bitterly split factions he had found there.

New Hampshire had a strong Democratic party and had been frequently accused of almost pro-slavery tendencies. The Democratic press of Nashua, Manchester and Concord gave Lincoln a thorough going-over. At the same time, the growing Republican party accorded him a roaring reception.

On that second trip to New England, Lincoln was in little danger of being only an "also-ran" in the public eye. He was the great hope to thousands of desperately worried people. Twelve years had changed the country. The gawky Illinois lawyer who had played a supporting part in the 1848 rallies was now, in the eyes of most Yankees, the man for the White House.



Lincoln Lore

June, 1976

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Number 1660

DID LINCOLN CAUSE LOGAN'S DEFEAT?

Until the birth of the Republican party, Illinois was a Democratic state. When Abraham Lincoln served in the United States House of Representatives (1847-1849), he was the lone Whig from Illinois, and his Seventh Congressional District gained the reputation of being the banner Whig district in the state. In the next Congress, Illinois again sent only one Whig, but this man, Lincoln's friend Edward D. Baker, won in another district. The Seventh fell to the Democrats following Lincoln's election. Another friend of Abraham Lincoln, former law partner Stephen Trigg Logan, was the Whig candidate who went down to defeat in the Seventh Congressional District, and many historians have said that the burden of Congressman Lincoln's unpopular record of opposition to the Mexican War doomed Logan's chance of victory.

The dates involved in this problem are confusing to the modern reader and should be explained here before discussing the election. Doubtless many a modern voter gasped when television announcers reported, along with the results of the recent Presidential primary in Pennsylvania, that there were no less than twenty-two primaries to go before the November elections. Nineteenth-century American voters experienced a similarly endless churning of the political cauldron *every year*. There were no Presidential primaries, of course, but election dates were not systematized and elections were occurring at all times somewhere in the United States. The elections

The Field of Waterloo is ours!



THE WHIG CITADEL TAKEN!

The "Dead District" Redeemed!!

HARRIS ELECTED!!!

STATE REGISTER OFFICE, AUGUST 9.

It affords us heart-felt gratification to announce to our friends that the "dead district" is redeemed from the thrall of whigery. Nobly have our friends performed their duty and most nobly have their gallant exertions been repaid! We can say no more now, but give a statement of the majorities below, which the official returns will not materially change. Huzza for Cass and Butler, Harris and Victory!!

	Harris.	Logan.
Putnam, - - - -	20 maj.	—
Marshall, - - - -	96	—
Woodford, - - - -	190	—
Tazewell, - - - -	—	200 maj.
Logan, - - - -	—	10
Mason, - - - -	116	—
Menard, - - - -	76	—
Sangamon, - - - -	—	263
Morgan, - - - -	64	—
Scott, - - - -	63	—
Cass, - - - -	7	—
	632	473

Harris' majority 159!!

which sent Lincoln and his colleagues to the House of Representatives were held over a period of a year and three months. Lincoln's was one of the earliest. He was elected early in August of 1846, but he did not take his seat in the House until December of 1847. Louisiana, by contrast, held its election for representatives to the same Congress in November of 1847, just a month before Congress convened. There were not even standardizations by region. Though Lincoln was elected in August of 1846, neighboring Indiana chose Lincoln's Hoosier colleagues a full year later, in August of 1847.

Stephen Logan's ill-starred election day, then, was August 7, 1848. Three months later Illinois voters returned to the polls to select a President of the United States, either Democrat Lewis Cass or Whig Zachary Taylor. Congressman Abraham Lincoln remained in Washington after Congress adjourned on August 14, 1848, to help the Whig Central Committee with the national Whig campaign. Illinois Whigs chose him as an Assistant Elector on August 23, 1848. This meant that he had been chosen to make speeches in Taylor's behalf in Illinois. Despite the choice as Assistant Elector, Congressman Lincoln remained in Washington throughout August and travelled to Massachusetts in September to campaign for Taylor. Time was growing short to fulfill his duties as Assistant Elector in Illinois, so Lincoln went directly to Albany from Massachusetts, and then to Buffalo, from which he took a steamer across the Great Lakes to Illinois. By October 6, he was delivering a

speech in Chicago. On October 10, 1848, he arrived in Springfield to campaign for Taylor in his own district. By the first week in December, Congressman Lincoln had returned to Washington to attend the short (or lame-duck) session of Congress. This session met before the President (elected in November) took office on March 5, 1849 (normally, the date was March 4, but in 1849 that day was a Sunday and therefore unsuitable for the inaugural ceremonies).

The local Democrats were jubilant when Logan lost to Thomas L. Harris. Immediately, they crowed that Lincoln's record was unpopular with the people of central Illinois. Referring to Lincoln's so-called Spot Resolutions, which had demanded that President Polk point out the specific spot of allegedly American soil on which American blood had been shed to initiate the Mexican War, the *Illinois State Register* claimed that the "spot" was at last "wiped out." "When Lincoln was elected," said the Democratic newspaper, "he made no declaration of principles in regard to the war before the people, as he himself tells us in his first speech in Congress. Therefore the people of the seventh Congressional district are not responsible for the anti-war speeches and anti-war votes" of their Whig congressman. "But," the *Register* went on, "it was otherwise in relation to Logan. He had committed himself in the legislature against the war, and his sentiments were well known to the people, — and they promptly rejected him. This proves that . . . they are patriotic, true lovers of their country."

Abraham Lincoln did not interpret the results that way, of course. Writing on August 28, 1848, to William Schouler, the editor of the Boston *Daily Atlas*, Lincoln said:

I would rather not be put upon explaining how Logan was defeated in my district. In the first place I have no particulars from there, my friends, supposing I am on the road home, not having written me. Whether there was a full turn out of the voters I have as yet not learned. The most I can now say is that a good many Whigs, without good cause, as I think, were unwilling to go for Logan, and some of them so wrote me before the election. On the other hand Harris was a Major of the war, and fought at Cerro Gordo, where several Whigs of the district fought with him. These two facts and their effects, I presume tell the whole story. That there is any political change against us in the district I cannot believe; because I wrote some time ago to every county of the district for an account of changes; and, in answer I got the names of four against us, eighty-three for us. I dislike to predict, but it seems to me the district must and will be found right side up again in November.

In a debunker's rush to judgment, historians have called this letter evasive and concluded that Lincoln was the cause of Logan's defeat.

"In the Seventh District," Albert Beveridge declared flatly, "Logan ran on Lincoln's record and was badly beaten." It "would have hurt Logan had he taken the stump for him at that time; for, . . . Lincoln's popularity at home had been seriously impaired, if indeed it were not for the moment destroyed." His reception when he did come to work for Taylor was, according to Beveridge, dismal:

Finally he reached home, but no mention of his arrival was made in any paper. What further part he took in the campaign in Illinois does not appear, except that at one meeting in a small town in Sangamon County, just before the Presidential election, the crowd was unfriendly and a Democratic speaker handled him roughly. As we have seen, Logan had been overwhelmed in the August elections. The result of Lincoln's first session in Congress had been a political revolution among his constituents, and, . . . he returned to Washington a dispirited man.

The atmosphere of rejection and isolation which Beveridge conjured up by saying that Lincoln's arrival went unnoticed, that only one recorded speech was made (and that in a

"small" town), and that Lincoln was "a dispirited man" became even more pronounced in Donald W. Riddle's *Congressman Abraham Lincoln* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957). He called the election "the ultimate repudiation of Lincoln's stand on the Mexican War—not by Democrats only, as might have been expected, but by Whigs." Although Riddle noted that Lincoln made many speeches for Taylor after his return to Illinois and the Seventh Congressional District (these had somehow escaped Beveridge's notice), he read political disaster into their reception. After giving two speeches near Springfield (in Jacksonville and Petersburg, the county seats respectively of Morgan and Menard Counties), Lincoln "beat a strategic retreat," concluding "that no good purpose was served by his continuing to speak in this part of the district." Riddle added:

What is most curious of all he made no speech in Springfield. The conclusion is inescapable. Lincoln was so unpopular in Springfield and its environs that although he was an official party spokesman it was inadvisable for him to speak there.

Lincoln left for the northern part of the district where third-party Free Soil sentiment was strong.

Why did Lincoln retreat from the Springfield area? This is Riddle's explanation:

. . . he made only two speeches in his home neighborhood. In these he was roughly handled. He spoke at Beardstown on October 19. Two days later he spoke in Jacksonville. There his platform opponent, Murray McConnell, attacked Lincoln for his war attitude, asserting that Lincoln had misrepresented his constituents. Lincoln was sufficiently stung to reply. He refused to believe that a majority of his constituents had favored the war. This was an extremely vulnerable defense, and McConnell pounced upon it: how, then, did Lincoln explain his party's defeat in the recent Congressional election? The *State Register* was informed by its Jacksonville correspondent that Lincoln was "used up" by McConnell. "Lincoln has made nothing by coming to this part of the country to make speeches," the Morgan County writer concluded.

Lincoln spoke in Petersburg, the county seat of Menard County while attending court there on October 23. This time the *State Register* claimed he was "used up" by William Ferguson. It appears that Lincoln concluded that no good purpose was served by his continuing to speak in this part of the district.

Riddle judged that Lincoln had very little clout in the north as well:

It was no encomium of his success as an Assistant Elector [that Illinois went for Cass instead of Taylor]. The vote in Putnam County [in the northern part of Lincoln's district] was despite his major argument—that slavery restriction would be furthered by electing Taylor. In view of what had occurred in Jacksonville and Petersburg Lincoln could not easily have concluded that he had won many votes for his candidate.

It should make us suspicious to find the same conclusions buttressed by the opposite evidence. Beveridge's claim that Lincoln was unpopular was based on Lincoln's delivering so few speeches for Taylor in his district. Riddle found that Lincoln did deliver many speeches in his district but concluded, if anything more tenaciously, that Lincoln was unpopular with his own constituents.

To cling to Beveridge's conclusion, then, Riddle had to do two things. First, he had to say that the speeches which newspapers reported were reported unfavorably. Second, he had to say that the unreported speeches had no political effect or the opposite political effect from that intended by Lincoln. Thus the reader learns that Lincoln was "used up" at Beardstown and Jacksonville and that he failed to stem the Free Soil tide in the north, especially in Putnam County.

The first contention is based on a hostile witness; Riddle referred to reports of speeches in Democratic newspapers. Democratic newspapers *without exception* reported that Whig speakers were "used up" by Democratic ones; Whig papers always found precisely the opposite to be the case. It was Lincoln's misfortune that only the Democratic report of his speech survived.

Riddle could still plead that he used the *only* evidence available. Such would also be his plea in the case of the speeches in the northern part of the district. There are no reports, hostile or friendly, of these speeches, so the historian must rely on the only evidence available: the results on election day as ascertained from the election statistics. The figures for the two elections are printed below:

CONGRESSIONAL (AUGUST) PRESIDENTIAL (NOVEMBER)

COUNTY	HARRIS (Dem.)	LOGAN (Whig)	CASS (Dem.)	TAYLOR (Whig)	VAN BUREN (Free Soil)
Cass	656	650	724	761	11
Logan	399	417	369	465	4
Marshall	341	244	322	304	41
Mason	452	336	403	391	7
Menard	648	570	488	605	1
Morgan	1,322	1,264	1,309	1,372	139
Putnam	238	219	185	266	299
Sangamon	1,386	1,649	1,336	1,943	47
Scott	662	616	649	798	15
Tazewell	678	899	593	1,097	96
Woodford	419	231	309	166	52
	7,201	7,095	6,687	8,168	712

Lincoln did not stem the Free Soil tide in Putnam County, which went for Van Buren. However, it should be noted that all the northern counties, Putnam, Woodford, and Marshall, had the Free Soil virus, that Lincoln visited *all* of them as well as Tazewell, that Marshall and Woodford went for Cass by smaller majorities than they had gone for Harris, and that Tazewell went for Taylor by a much greater majority than it had turned out for Logan. In other words, it seems only fair to say that, whereas Lincoln may not have helped much in Putnam, he certainly did not hurt anything in Tazewell, Marshall, or Woodford.

It also seems fair to apply the same test of election results to Lincoln's speeches which were reported as disasters by the Democratic press. The fullest report stemmed from the Jacksonville speech, which was reported in this way by the *Illinois State Register*:

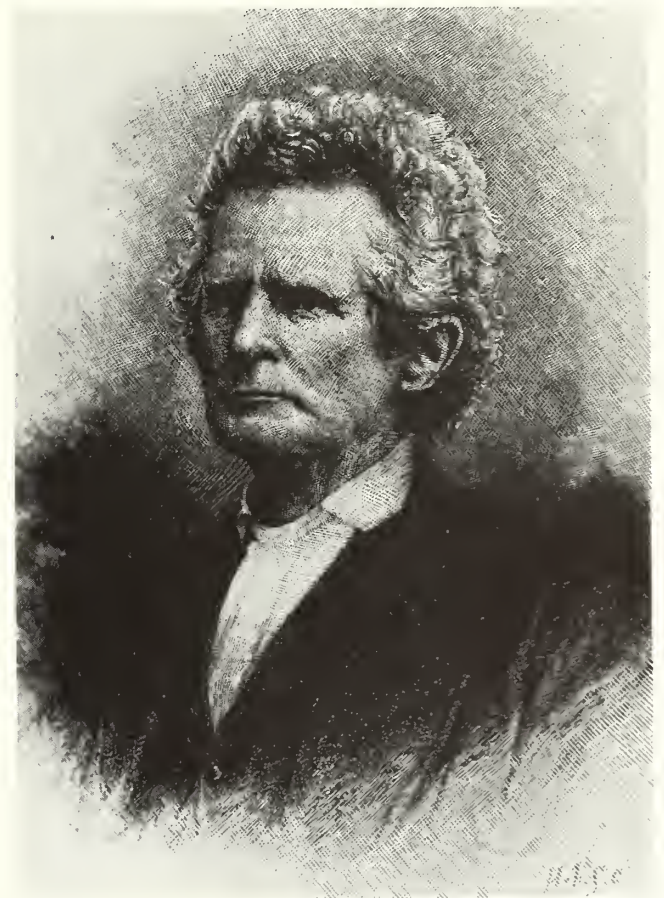
Mr. McConnel then took up a copy of the journal of the House of Representatives of Congress, of January last, and showed that Mr. Lincoln *had refused to vote for a resolution of thanks to General Taylor and his brave comrades for his and their conduct at the battle of Beuna Vista, until he had first voted an amendment thereto*, that this battle was fought in a war *unconstitutionally and unnecessarily* begun by the President. He then turned to Mr. Lincoln and compared his conduct in that vote with his conduct and speeches in favor of the war, and for carrying it on with spirit and vigor before he left home and while canvassing for the office of representative in Congress. He asked if Mr. Lincoln did not know when he gave that vote that he was *misrepresenting* the wishes of the patriotic people of this district, and did he do so by the influence of Mr. Polk or some whig leader. In the midst of the shower of fire that fell around him, Lincoln cried out, "No, I did not know it, and don't believe it yet." As quick as thought McConnel pointed to the August election as an evidence that he had so misrepresented his people, and to that most foul slander upon our district was mainly owing Logan's defeat for Congress. The people were tired of having their patriotism and love of country so shamefully misrepresented by whig Congress-

man and misunderstood by the American people, and they rose in their might and cast aside the men that disregarded the wishes of those who put them in power. Lincoln crouched in silence beneath the blows that fell thick and fast around him, and his friends held down their heads in shame.

Lincoln has made nothing by coming to this part of the country to make speeches. He had better have stayed away. Riddle agreed in substance with the Democrats, though not to the extent of saying that a "shower of fire" fell around Lincoln or that he "crouched in silence."

What, though, would happen if one applied the same test to this speech that is used for Lincoln's northern tour? Jacksonville was in Morgan County. The Whigs always had factional problems in Morgan. It was the only possible challenger to Sangamon's leadership in the Seventh Congressional District, turning out only about 350 - 500 fewer votes than Sangamon's whopping 3,000 or so votes. When Harris beat Logan in August, Morgan County, which had gone for Clay over Polk in 1844, went for the Democrat by 58 votes. Lincoln visited Morgan, and it went for Taylor by 63 votes in November. It would be a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy to say Lincoln caused the change, but it at least deserves mention and the same weight assigned to the vote in Putnam after Lincoln's appearance in that county.

Ignoring all partisan evidence from Democratic newspapers and disregarding the charges of Beveridge and Riddle, one could draw a very different picture of Lincoln's relation-



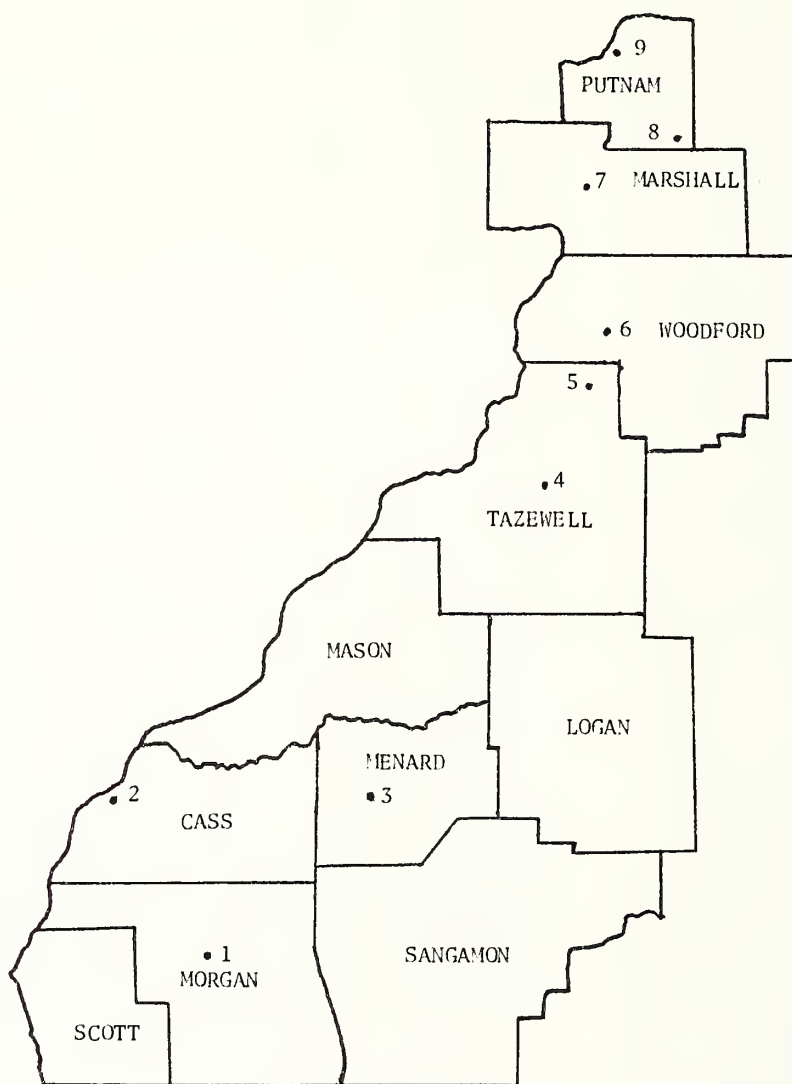
From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Stephen T. Logan was, according to William Herndon, "small—short—thin—and squarely put up and angularly built, running in figure and features to sharp keen points, lance like . . . He is frailly built—a froth network—nervous—quick—uneasy—restless . . . his voice is sharp and shrill—'squeaky & squealy.'"

ship with his constituents. Stephen T. Logan lost the congressional election in August to war hero Thomas L. Harris. Thinking him on his way after Congress recessed on the 14th, local Whigs chose incumbent Congressman Abraham Lincoln on August 27 as Assistant Elector to make speeches in November for Zachary Taylor. Lincoln chose to work for the national campaign first and then came home in October to help out the Taylor cause in his own district. He made about eight speeches in Taylor's behalf in the district. Every county except Woodford that Lincoln visited turned out more Whig voters for Taylor than it had for Logan three months earlier. This is not necessarily proof of Lincoln's prowess as a campaigner, but it is proof of his political acumen. He had predicted in August that the upset of Logan by Harris did not indicate any permanent reversal of political fortunes for the

Seventh District's Whig majority. He knew and stated flatly that the district would be found in Taylor's column in November. What role his own speaking efforts played in this is impossible to determine, but they could hardly have been a detriment.

It is even harder to say what role Lincoln's reputation played in Logan's defeat than to say what role his presence and political activity played in Taylor's victory in the Seventh Congressional District. All that can be said, within the confines of *Lincoln Lore's* limited pages, is that there is no indication that Lincoln's physical presence in the district had any dampening effect on Whig political fortunes in October or November, 1848. One must wonder, then, how Lincoln could have been more dangerous to Whig success just three months earlier while he was hundreds of miles away in Washington.



THE SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Lincoln Campaign Speeches for Taylor, October, 1848

1. Jacksonville (MORGAN)
2. Beardstown (CASS)
3. Petersburg (MENARD)
4. Tremont (TAZEWELL)
5. Washington (TAZEWELL)
6. Metamora (WOODFORD)
7. Lacon (MARSHALL)
8. Magnolia (PUTNAM)
9. Hennepin (PUTNAM)

LINCOLN'S POLITICAL EDUCATION

President Lincoln gets high marks for political skill from almost all modern historians, but few have attempted to account for this skill. It often seems as though Lincoln burst from his mother's womb as a full-fledged politico, ready to wheel and deal, bestow patronage, and walk into a strong Presidency. Like everything else in Lincoln's life, however, political savvy came by dint of a gradual and difficult learning experience. In fact, Lincoln's political education may have been more difficult than his learning experience as a writer, a lawyer, or an orator. Politics can only be learned the hard way.

After his original apprenticeship under "Jerry Sly," the nickname of Lincoln's first law partner and political mentor John Todd Stuart, Lincoln learned the toughest lessons from Zachary Taylor. This is not to say that Lincoln had the close relationship with Taylor which he had with Stuart. Lincoln's political involvement with the Taylor Presidency, however, brought with it some stinging lessons the young Illinois legislator never forgot.

The Whig party in part grew from criticism of the organizational methods of the Democratic party, and Whigs, therefore, tended to be reluctant to adopt the organizational methods of the Democrats. Among Illinois Whigs, Lincoln and his close political allies like Anson G. Henry were leaders in urging better organization. Lincoln knew that this was the only hope of success for the party in his overwhelmingly Democratic state. In 1840 Lincoln wrote a confidential circular for the Whig State Committee suggesting that the way to "overthrow the *trained bands* that are opposed to us, whose salaried officers are ever on the watch, and whose misguided followers are ever ready to obey their smallest commands" was "to organize the whole State." The letter recommended the establishment of committees in every county to canvass voters to determine their preferences. When



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 3. John Todd Stuart.



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 4. Zachary Taylor.

Democrats seized on the circular as a campaign issue, Lincoln responded: "They set us the example of organization; and we, in self defence, are driven into it. . . . Let them *disband* their double-drilled-army of 'forty thousand office holders.'" Lincoln continued to "justify . . . urge . . . organization on the score of necessity." Still, Lincoln was Whig enough to tell John Todd Stuart, while advising him on local appointments after William Henry Harrison's election as President, "I am, as you know, opposed to removals to make places for our friends." Lincoln insisted on having some reason beyond mere partisan identification for removing officeholders.

Lincoln's Whig campaign address in 1843 continued to stress the necessity of organization. He favored the convention system for nominations, and he urged Whigs to run candidates for Congress in every district in the state, "regardless of the chances of success." He was still ahead of average Whig sentiment on these questions and "got thunder" as his "reward" for writing the address. When he served in the United States House of Representatives (1847-1849), Lincoln did what he could to gain offices and appointments for Whig allies, but there was little he could do. President James K. Polk was a Democrat and "could hardly be expected to give them to whigs, at the solicitation of a whig Member of Congress." Things changed with the election of Whig Zachary Taylor. Lincoln promised offices, for example, to Walter Davis: "When I last saw you I said, that if the distribution of the offices should fall into my hands, you should have *something*." In the end he shared a good deal of the power of distribution with incoming Whig Congressman Edward D. Baker of Galena. When he recommended a Whig appointee as Springfield's postmaster, Lincoln admitted that the only objection to the Democratic incumbent was that he was "an active partizan in opposition to us." He would "give no opinion . . . as to whether he should or should not be removed." He did not say, as he had to Stuart almost a decade before, that such men should not be removed.

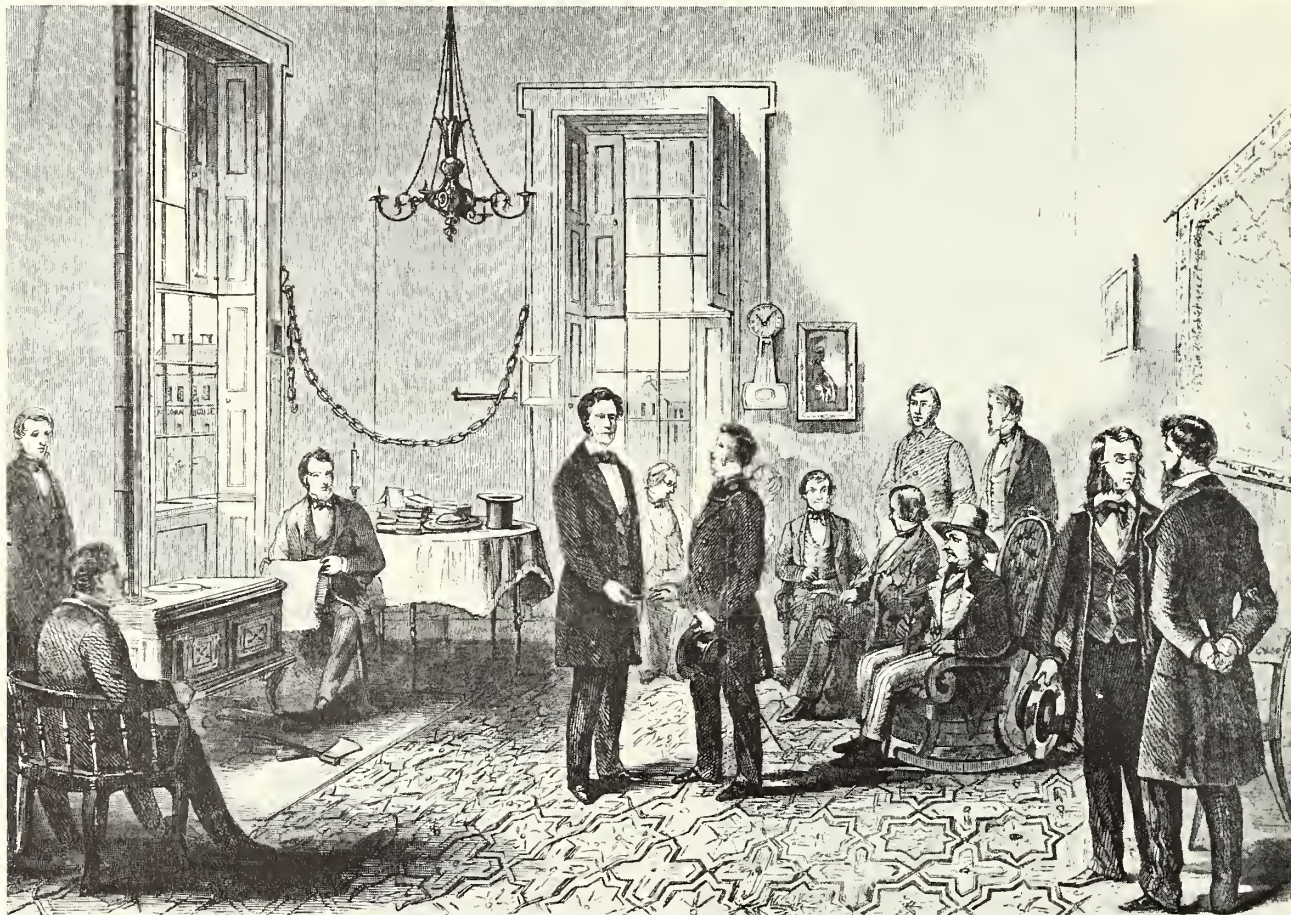
Since he did not run for reelection, Lincoln himself began to think of receiving a patronage appointment. But, he said frankly, "there is nothing about me which would authorize me to think of a first class office; and a second class one would not compensate me for being snarled at by others who want it for themselves." Eventually, Lincoln did become an aspirant for appointment to the lucrative General Land Office. He admitted that his major competitor, Justin Butterfield of Chicago, was "qualified to do the duties of the office," as were "quite one hundred Illinoisans." Lincoln argued that the office "should be so given as to gratify our friends, and to stimulate them to future exertions." Butterfield "fought for Mr. Clay against Gen Taylor to the bitter end," and it would "now mortify me deeply," Lincoln said, "if Gen. Taylor's administration shall trample all my wishes in the dust."

Taylor's weak partisanship gave Lincoln a new appreciation for the importance of the patronage. Taylor, Lincoln realized, "will not go the doctrine of removals very strongly." Leaving many Democratic incumbents in office, Lincoln insisted, gave "the greater reason, when an office or job is not already in democratic hands, that it should be given to a Whig." If "less than this is done for our friends, I think they will have just cause to complain." The appointment of Butterfield doubtless accelerated Lincoln's appreciation for distributing the patronage to friends as the ultimate bond of party loyalty.

Lincoln was out of office and largely uninvolved in patronage matters for more than a decade before becoming President in 1861. He brought with him to the office the traditional habits of a good party man, toughened by the

unhappy experience of the Taylor administration and heightened by the organizational needs of a new party, the Republican, now enjoying its first taste of national office. Lincoln was widely criticized for spending too much time on petty patronage matters while the Nation fell apart into civil war. However, the Republican party was only six years old and was as yet a loose coalition of former Whigs, former Democrats, and former Know Nothings. Lincoln had to exercise great care in distributing the patronage to keep this new coalition together. For this task Lincoln was peculiarly well equipped, for, though no one appreciated loyalty more than he, Lincoln was also free of any vindictive spirit. When Republicans who had supported other candidates than Lincoln at the nominating convention in 1860 worriedly wrote him, Lincoln responded that such things were "not even remembered by me for any practical purpose." He would not go "back of the convention, to make distinctions among its' members."

Personal loyalty was one thing, but party loyalty was quite another. Lincoln initiated the most sweeping removal of federal officeholders in the country's history up to that time. Of 1,520 Presidential officeholders, 1,195 were removed; since most Southern offices were left unfilled, this was almost a complete overturn. He appointed Republicans to almost all of these jobs. Lincoln's administration, the President explained frankly in 1862, "distributed to it's party friends as nearly all the civil patronage as any administration ever did." Lincoln never forgot the lessons of the weakly partisan Taylor administration.



RECEIVING HIS VISITORS IN THE GOVERNOR'S ROOM IN THE STATE HOUSE, SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—FROM A SKETCH BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST, MR. HENRI LOVIN.

From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 5. This comes as close as any contemporary picture to showing Lincoln in the act of distributing offices. After his election in 1860, Lincoln established a temporary office in the Illinois State Capitol to receive visitors. Needless to say, most of these visitors were seeking offices from the new administration either for themselves or their friends.

LINCOLN'S VISIT TO NEW ENGLAND.

Lincoln's birthday may well be selected as an appropriate occasion to recall honest Abe's first visit to Boston, when, as he afterward facetiously expressed it, he came from the wild west with hayseed in his hair to the most cultured city in the union, "to take a few lessons in deportment."

Lincoln was the only whig congressman from Illinois in 1818, when he came to Boston. He served but one term, having rendered himself unpopular with his constituency while in congress by his constant attacks on President Polk, whom he accused of waging war against Mexico without authority of congress.

Yet the whigs, seeing that the democrats, or war party, were likely under ordinary conditions to carry the approaching election, stole the thunder of the opposition by giving their presidential nomination to the chief hero of the war, Gen Zachary Taylor.

Lincoln believed Taylor the only man sure to be elected, "For," said he, "having nominated him, we take the war party on the blind side. The war will be to them the gallows of Haman, which they built for us and on which they are doomed to be hanged themselves."

"All the odds and ends are with us—barbarians, native Americans, Tyler men, disappointed office-seeking locofocos, and the Lord knows what not."

Taylor not only represented a war which the whigs regarded as in the interest of the extension and perpetuation of slavery, but he was also a large slave owner himself, and naturally a great many antislavery whigs in New England refused to take the bitter dose provided for them.

They seceded and nominated an independent candidate, Van Buren, their organization being known as free sollers.

Lincoln as a Campaigner.

The national committee sent Congressman Lincoln to Boston and vicinity to confound with his satire and ridicule the leaders of the free soil movement—such men as John A. Andrew, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, Anson Burlingame, Richard H. Dana and Hon E. Rockwood Hear, all of whom, strange to say, were among Lincoln's supporters, 12 years later, when he became the republican nominee.

We get a fine glimpse of Lincoln's idea of the way to run a successful campaign in a letter to one of his young political friends at home, sent just as he was about to start for Boston.

"This was his plan:
"You young men form a rough and ready club and have regular meetings and speeches. Take in everybody you can get. Gather up all the shrewd wild boys about town, whether of age or a little under. Let some speak, some sing and all halloo. Your meetings will be of evenings; the older people will go to hear you, so that it will not only contribute to the election of old Zack, but will be an interesting pastime, and will improve the faculties of all engaged."

A picture of Honest Abe dining at a hotel, at this period, is given by Herndon. He is described as dressed in a well-worn, ill-fitting suit of bombazine, without vest or cravat, and holding a 25-cent straw hat under his arm, as he sat with only half his person in the chair, as if not at all easy amid his surroundings. Beneath the sweatband of his hat he carried his memoranda and correspondence.

"The Hon. Abram Lincoln," as the Boston papers of that day invariably called him, came on from Washington, making his first appearance in Massachusetts at Worcester, Sept 12, at the state convention of the whigs.

On the evening of the 12th he addressed a mass meeting at which many of the delegates were present. The only Boston report of the Advertiser, and was an abstract of nearly a column, in which he is said to have opened by modestly expressing his repugnance at addressing an audience "this side of the mountains, where everybody is supposed to be instructed and wise."

great interest to the proceedings of the convention, including speeches by Rufus Choate and Robert C. Whitthrop.

Sept 15 he was in Boston and spoke in Washington hall, which was on the third floor of the present 21 Bromfield st.

None of the local papers seems to have even mentioned this meeting, which was probably a small affair, as the hall was hardly more than 20 by 40 feet. Old timers seem to know but little of the old hall, but one thinks he recalls that it had some connection with the great temperance movement of a few years earlier, and possibly with the present institution known as the Washingtonian home.

Lincoln staid at the Tremont house, but during the week that he was in this vicinity visited several neighboring towns.

On the 17th he spoke in Chelsea in opposition to Charles Sumner, who had been there the evening before.

On the 18th he spoke in Richmond hall, Dorchester, the most vivid memory he left behind being the ludicrous picture he made as he arose to speak, his head nearly touching the ceiling.

On the 20th he was at Temperance hall, Dedham, where a convention was held to nominate Horace Mann for congress. In connection with this occasion we have the only personal recollections of any one now living who met Lincoln at that time—namely, Mr George H. Monroe, a well-known Boston newspaper man, now on the editorial staff of the Herald.

Mr Lincoln at Dedham.

Mr Monroe, who had never heard of Lincoln previous to that day, escorted him from the Tremont house to Dedham. As Lincoln entered the old Providence depot, in Pleasant st, he must have stepped on the very spot now occupied by the fine statue of himself in the act of freeing the slave, which stands in Park sq.

Mr Monroe's first impression of Lincoln was not particularly favorable. He was awkward, and apparently ill at ease, scarcely uttering a word during his half-hour trip to Dedham, where they arrived about 4 p m.

At one of the finest private houses in the town, to which the visitor was escorted by a brass band, he appeared even more ill at ease than before, and the natural inference seemed to be that he found the atmosphere "this side of the mountains" entirely uncongenial.

When the party arrived at the little hall, late in the afternoon, it was found to be but half full, and with an apparently stupid and morose speaker it was thought the jig was up.

"But," says Mr Monroe, "the moment Mr Lincoln began to speak there was a change. He was no longer indifferent, but started off with fine effect."

"Pretty soon he turned up the sleeves of his black alpaca sack coat, then he turned up the cuffs of his shirt, and by and by he loosened his necktie, and wound up by taking it off altogether, the enthusiasm of his rural listeners rising steadily as the transformation progressed."

"The speaker bubbled over with humor, told funny stories of western life to illustrate points in his argument, and talked to his auditors in the most familiar and offhand way imaginable."

"Suddenly, after he had been talking half an hour, a locomotive bell on a train about to start for Boston was heard. Lincoln stopped and said he had to speak in Cambridge in the evening and must run for the train."

"Cries of 'No! No!' 'Don't stop!' came from all over the hall, and one man promised to hitch up his nag and take the speaker to Cambridge later, but Lincoln said, 'I have kept my word with you and I must do the same by the Cambridge people; I can't afford to take any chances,' and he went, attended by every evidence of genuine regret on the part of the Dedhamites."

Brief Report of Speeches.

That might be spoke in old Lyceum hall, still standing in Harvard sq, Cambridge.

The next day he addressed the whigs of Lowell, and on Sept 23 he was back in Boston again, where he was scheduled to speak in the evening at an open

airer lines, the free of a dozen, and the Advertiser but little more. Such papers as were in sympathy with the whigs sufficiently to allow them to report the affair gave all their space to the speech of Ex-Gov Win. H. Seward of New York, who preceded Lincoln, speaking for two hours, and told, in awe-inspiring eloquence, of Cicero, Pompey and Caesar and the fall of Rome, in their relationship to the affairs of the American republic.

But another campaign speech of Lincoln's at the same period will doubtless give a very good idea of the kind of entertainment he furnished Bostonians in Tremont temple.

The chief ammunition the democrats had with which to attack the whigs consisted of accusations of inconsistency, in denouncing the war and then trying to get into power "beneath the military coattails of Gen Taylor."

This didn't phase Lincoln a bit. He declared that for nearly a quarter of a century the democrats had run their campaigns under Gen Jackson's military coattails, while that very year their candidate was Gen Cass, whose sole title to distinction was service with Jackson in the war of 1812.

Lincoln on His "War Record."

Said Lincoln: "A fellow once advertised a discovery by which he could make a new man out of an old one, and have enough of the stuff left to make a little yellow dog. Gen Jackson's popularity has proved just such a discovery for the democrats."

"They have utilized it to make him twice President, and have had enough of the stuff left to enable them to make Presidents of several small men since. Their chief reliance now is to make one more."

Taking up the record of Cass in the war of 1812, Lincoln said:

"Cass was volunteer aid to Gen Harrison at the battle of the Thames, and, as the democrats said in 1840 that Harrison was picking huckleberries two miles away during the battle, I suppose it's a just conclusion to say that Cass was helping Harrison pick those huckleberries."

"By the way, did you know that I am a military hero? O yes, in the days of the Black Hawk war I fought and bled and came away."

"If Gen Cass beat me picking huckleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges on the wild onions. If he saw any live fighting Indians it's more than I did."

"But I had many a bloody struggle with the mosquitoes, and although I never fainted from loss of blood, I can truly say I was often mighty hungry."

"If my democratic friends shall ever take me up as their candidate for the presidency, they shall not make fun of me, as they have of Gen Cass, by attempting to turn me into a military hero."

Second Visit to Boston.

In each of his speeches hereabouts, Lincoln denounced party platforms as an absurdity, saying that the true intuition of our form of government is to have all kinds of principles stated in congress, and then have the wisdom of all united in the action of a majority.

He also said, what is interesting at this day, that "Those who would keep up the character of the union do not believe in enlarging our field, but would keep our fences where they are, making our present possessions a garden, improving the morals and education of our own people and devoting all the efforts of the government to this purpose."

Several historians mention Lincoln as speaking in Faneuil hall during his visit, but as one or two couple the name of Seward with the event it is plain they refer to the Tremont temple meeting.

Seward's remarks on slavery at the Boston meeting made such an impression on Lincoln that three months later he presented a bill in congress for abolishing slavery in the district of Columbia, though it was defeated at that time.

He left Boston the day after his Tremont temple speech, and was shipwrecked on his way to Illinois, on one

When Lincoln Came Here.

The speaker was described as very tall and thin, with an intellectual face, showing a searching mind and cool judgment. "He was interrupted by frequent and enthusiastic applause."

Although at that period Lincoln was addicted to introducing a great deal of broad humor in his speeches, even in congress, the only evidence of it mentioned in his Worcester speech is a reference to the platform of the free soilers, which he said reminded him "of a pair of pants offered for sale by a Yankee pedler, warranted big enough for any man and small enough for any boy."

The next day Lincoln listened with

air rally to be held, according to a custom of that time, in the space between the old courthouse and city hall, the speakers, no doubt, standing upon the courthouse steps.

But the weather was bad that day, and the evening papers announced that the meeting had been transferred to Tremont temple.

It was the first Tremont temple—the present one being the third—and was the same auditorium that had been the original Tremont theatre.

None of the local papers appears to have reported Lincoln's speech that evening, though the Atlas stated that he spoke from 9:30 to 10:30, and was cheered to the echo.

Some of the papers had not a word in regard to the meeting. The Herald had

of the great lakes. It was his experience on that occasion that suggested to his mind the invention for raising sunken ships, still to be seen in the patent office in Washington.

That his Boston "lessons in deportment" were not altogether a joke, he showed as soon as he arrived home by taking up with unwonted zest the work of self culture, even studying German for a while, in the hope of approaching the standard of Boston intelligence and polish.

Once, at least, afterward, Lincoln passed through Boston. It was in March, 1860, about three months before his nomination to the presidency, when he visited Phillips Exeter academy, where his son Robert was a student.

At that time he was compelled to

(incomplete)



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

(From a Daguerreotype Made About the time of His Visit to New England in 1848.)



Eng^d by V Balch from a Daguerreotype

Z Taylor

